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The Lessons of the Nafta Struggle: What Next?

by Murray N. Rothbard

The old motto says: "Don't get mad, get even." I never understood why you can't amend that to: "Get mad *and* get even." The important thing is to get even. That is the major lesson of Nafta: Never forget. Punish the SOBs. Get even. While unions are vowing to punish pro-Nafta Democrats, conservatives and libertarians should take the pledge: Never vote for any pro-Nafta Republican. Ever.

The House vote on Nafta must be taken not as the end of the road, but only as the beginning. That is another major lesson of Nafta. They called it an "odd coalition"; that corrupt outgoing disgrace, House GOP minority leader Bob Michel, called the anti-Nafta coalition the Marx Brothers of American politics. Well, he should be only the first of the Three Stooges (Jack Kemp, Newt Gingrich) to be sent into well-deserved retirement. Forget about "healing" and "Unity" and "putting it all behind us." That sort of guff is strictly for the winners (e.g. Clinton, Gingrich) to suck in the losers. For the losers in the Nafta vote, the only message is: Throw the Rascals Out. Never forget.

And exactly *who* are the winners and who the losers? Toward the end of the ferocious struggle the profiles of the two opposing sides became crystal-clear. And as the sharp-eyed analysts of the Establishment conceded: it has little to do with "trade." First and foremost, it all came down to a matter of class. On the pro-Nafta side was the serried ranks of the elite, of the cadres and stooges of the Rockefeller-Big Government Demopublican world empire. When it came to the clutch, for a crucial issue like Nafta, the so-called "two party system" was revealed for the egregious fraud that it is. For on the Nafta side was the entire bipartisan elite, making a mockery of America's vaunted "democratic system"—the very same fraudulent plutocratic system

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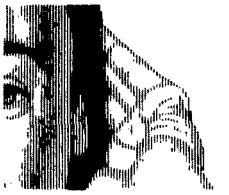

THE EAR

by Sarah Barton

Dopey Argument of the Year: the last-ditch Evers-Left Libertarian argument for Nafta: Nafta may not really be for free trade, but the people *perceive* it as free trade, and therefore a defeat for Nafta will be a defeat for the cause of free trade.

Oh?

Well, in that case, the Clinton health plan may not *really* advance the cause of health, but the people *perceive* it as being pro-health, therefore we have to support it.

Or

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(THE EAR cont. from pg. 1)

Price controls do not really combat inflation, but the people *perceive* it as fighting inflation, therefore a defeat for price controls harms the cause of fighting inflation..?

* * * * *

The California voucherites are getting set to introduce another scheme next year, and they're now debating what changes to make to sucker in the public. Joel Rosenberg of the Kempian Empower America is talking about: only poor families could get vouchers; children already in private schools couldn't get them; and religious private schools would not be eligible. In short; purely an anti-religious welfare scheme for the poor! It will be interesting to see if the Left-libertarians, including moneybags David Koch, will swallow this and make another huge leap to the Left.

By the way, David was just named to the coveted honor of Bachelor of the Year. Congratulations, billionaire hunk.

* * * * *

A very good friend of the head of a prominent Left-libertarian thinktank is getting worried about his friend, whose hatred of the two Rs is "reaching a new plateau of frenzy." When the guy was asked what activities of the two Rs are especially driving the thinktankers nuts, but he clammed up.

Hey, big guy, why don't you take a rest cure: like two years of organizing "market liberals" in Bosnia? ■

(LESSONS cont. from pg.1)

we have been trying to foist on the world with guns and bombs in the name of "democracy." Pro-Nafta: every former President; every Trilat; every pundit; 5,000 Nobel-winning economists; every repellent foreign-policy expert you've seen on CNN or *Nightline*; every Big Business type, including the odious protectionist looter-of-the taxpayer Lee Iacocca; in short, every four-flusher and crook with credentials and blow-dried hair. The entire respectable "left-right" spectrum was forced, in the heat of the battle, to expose itself for the complete phony that it is. On *McLaughlin Group* and on *Capital Gang*, every person, with the honorable exception of the inarticulate Mark Shields, was not only pro-Nafta, but hysterically so. In fact, the thuggish Robert Novak, toward the end, let the cat out of the bag: "all the educated people are pro-Nafta;" "there is no intelligent person against Nafta." And all the half-educated panelists heartily agreed. And, of course, as the star attraction, not for his ability to persuade but for the Establishment imprimatur that his very Buddha-like presence conveys: that old war criminal himself, the not so much beloved as deeply venerated by every Establishmentarian, "Doctor" Henry Kissinger, trotted out by the Arkansas peckerwood to give himself *cachet* among all the elites and their hangers-on. [The quotes around Doctor are intended to convey, not doubt on the authenticity of Henry the K's graduate degree, but on the name that always precedes his name when announced in public, almost as if "Doctor" is his first given name.]

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So if all the biggies, "liberal" and "conservative," all the elites were pro-Nafta, and this, as we have pointed out before, emphatically included neocons and Left Libertarians, who was against it? The answer is very simple, but highly revealing: the people. The people, what the Marxists call "the broad masses," were bitterly, furiously anti-Nafta. Everyone loved Nafta but the people. Even to include the AFL-CIO in the opponents is a distortion. For the national AFL-CIO leaders admitted that their fierce opposition was totally "driven" by their local, rank-and-file members. English translation: the sophisticated national union leaders would have liked to be pro-Nafta, or at the very least make some deals, but they simply couldn't do it, so frenzied and militant against Nafta were the rank and file union members. And not just unionist,

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and not just Rust-belt factory workers concerned about their jobs. Everyone: rednecks, farmers, urban and rural rank and file alike, everyone hated Nafta.

And what drove this fury was not simply ignorant protectionist arguments about "losing jobs." That was the only argument that many of the opponents could latch onto. It was a simple, clear argument. But underlying this often silly argumentation was a deep-seated hunch that the rich, the elite, the Big Government-Big Business-Big Pundit forces, were putting something dastardly, something evil, over on them. And that hunch, that instinct, was right.

The fight was the elites versus the people. The elites knew exactly what they wanted: they had the knowledge, they had the money, and they had the power. And since they had the money and the power, spearheaded by the Monster in the White House, they could make shameless deals until the votes of enough Congressmen were bought and paid for. The process was so open and blatant that even the kept media remarked on it. It had to be open because the elite was desperate. And so they won, and not only by the one or two votes the pundits had predicted. By the end, the vote was a forgone conclusion. But the important thing is to make this rotten victory a strictly short-run, Pyrrhic one. We the People have lost the battle; we must make sure that we win the war. And we win the war by Never Forgetting, by hanging their pro-Nafta stance or vote like an albatross around the neck of every Republican politician, until they are driven from public life. The New York *Times* reported that one Clintonian official lamented: "The Administration's nightmare is that Nafta passes and for five years, every sparrow that falls from the trees is blamed on Nafta." (Nov. 20). Yes; but this should be the continuing nightmare, not only of the Clinton Administration, but also of its Naftian running dogs in the Republican, or Demopublican party.

So what about the anti-Nafta coalition that came so close to victory? Was it really so odd as it seemed to the Beltway elites, happily insulated from the folks in the hinterlands? What indeed do Ross Perot, Jerry Brown, Ralph Nader, and Pat Buchanan have in common? The answer is that they are all *populists*, whether of the right or left. The new coalition that was forged in the Nafta struggle can and should be strengthened to keep battling on many other fronts as well. And what is "populism," whether of right or left? It is a common hostility to the rule of the centrist elites, of the contemporary corporate State, of the Trilat-neocon-President-ex President-Big Government-Big Business-Big Media coalition that has run this country for decades. The positive proposals or the long-run ideologies within this New Populist Coalition are less important than the fact that they all have a common foe: the existing American ruling class. And all these wings of populism have in common a desire to overthrow that ruling elite. Not only that: the broad masses instinctively have the same view, and can be mobilized to this end by the Populist Coalition.

One of the most egregious tacks taken by the Ruling Elite toward the desperate end of the Nafta fight was to accuse their opponents of engaging in the "politics of fear." *They*—the statist rulers—were pushing the politics of "hope," whereas the opponents were playing on inchoate "fears." They even trotted out the phrase of the pioneer and past master of the rotten American socialist elite: Franklin Doublecross Roosevelt, with his "we have nothing to fe-ah but fe-ah itself."

Politics of fear? What were the elites saying the last couple of weeks before the House vote? That America, nay the world, would fall apart if Nafta should lose. America would hang its head in shame, scorned by the entire world. It is particularly fascinating that the final and unfortunately successful card played by Clinton and the ruling elite was Foreign Policy. It's not *really* about trade, the pundits said, but about our entire wonderful internationalist foreign policy, to which America has been committed for so many glorious decades. And of course they were right, for the elite, evil though it may be, knows exactly what it is about. What was at stake and will continue to be at stake is not a few measly tariffs but what America's place should be in the world: Should we follow the long-run schemes of the Ruling Class to build an ever-more interventionist world government, ruled of course by these self-same elites? Or should we repudiate all globaloney and forge a New American Nationalism? Shall it be back to the old

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American Republic, the American Nation, or shall it be onward to transnational World Government? Shall it be We the People, or "Doctor" Kissinger and all of his ilk? Shall it be, in other words, a foreign policy that cleaves strictly to American national interests, or shall it be world rule by the blue helmets of the "UN police force" and their transnational bosses? Shall it, in other words, be America First or America Last? That is, has been, and shall be the overriding issue of our time, and of both the 20th and 21st centuries.

One of those repugnant TV pundits, I think it was the "value-free" political analyst William Schneider, put it most starkly in analyzing the Nafta vote. Would America, for the first time since the defeat of the U.S. entry into the League of Nations in 1919, repudiate the interventionist foreign policy project? Schneider's "value-freedom" was wearing very thin that day, as he clearly exulted that the United States was still on its old internationalist course.

President Clinton, too, hailed the vote as a "defining moment" for America—again in the same knowing apocalyptic tradition, the same understanding of what was at stake. The other theme played in those final weeks was that Nafta had to pass to "save the Clinton presidency," although why allegedly conservative Republicans should be so concerned about saving the Clinton presidency is something that deserves a lot more analysis. Why should conservative Republicans save the Monster in the White House? Don't they realize that to the extent that that Monster fails, America is saved? Clearly not—which leads one to ask, how "conservative" and how "Republican" are the Gingriches and the Kemps and the 132 House Republicans who voted for Nafta? (It would be fun take a leaf from Revolutionary American practice, and to hold bonfires burning the "infamous 132" in effigy, while hailing the courageous "43" House Republicans who stood fast against their own party rulers to vote American First and to turn down Nafta.)

Pat Buchanan, the nation's pre-eminent right-wing populist, and of course its leader in the anti-Nafta struggle, wrote an outstanding column after the vote, which correctly analyzed the new constellation of forces and set the course for the days ahead. (*Washington Times*, Nov. 19). Pat noted that we "looked into the eyes of the national establishment and saw there something rarely seen, fear and panic, a ruling class in the sudden realization that millions of Americans [I would add: the majority] detest it." In analyzing "Whose side are you on?", Pat perceptively called the roll of the Nafta elites: in addition to the rulers of both parties, "The Fortune 500 and the Big banks, the Trilateral Commission and the Council on Foreign Relations...the Washington Post and the Wall Street Journal, the entire Punditocracy, Heritage Foundation and Cato, Brookings and American Enterprise Institute, the New Republic and Empower America," all the ex-presidents and secretaries of state, in short "All the King's Horses and All the King's Men."

And yet, Pat Buchanan added, "despite massive bias and a near blackout of its arguments by the Big Media, the anti-Nafta coalition won the support of half the nation." [I would say a lot more than that.] What then should be done? Clearly, the coalition should stick together, to forge a new American nationalism and overthrow the transnational elite. The common struggle against that elite, the growing consciousness of the malignancy of those elites, is more important than the loss of the actual vote. As Pat writes, this struggle

> awakened a nation, revealed the hierarchy of values of our leaders, broke the old molds, forged new alliances, and gave a new clarity, bordering on luminosity, to our politics.

Particularly fascinating is the fact that Pat Buchanan, a lifelong loyal Republican, is now willing to reconsider that deep-seated allegiance:

> As for the GOP Establishment, which worked in happy harness with the White House war room, it will never be seen in the same light again.

And then, this magnificent sentence: "This time, we all know where they spent the night."

Specifically, Pat warns:

"If this [anti-Nafta] coalition is not provided leadership by the GOP, it will seek leadership outside the GOP. Put bluntly: If both major parties go into the election of 1996 as parties of Nafta and the New World Order, a third party will emerge." Yes!

All of us should begin to think

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about how such a New Populist Coalition, or New Nationalist Coalition, could proceed. Could any common program be forged among such seemingly disparate groups? The answer is emphatically Yes. Thus, here could be some of the elements of a New Nationalist program:

1. Repeal Nafta.

2. Defeat, or withdraw from, all super-governmental agencies or commissions whatsoever. Repudiate all UN police forces. (And for us "extremists" within the coalition, revive the grand old slogan: US OUT of UN, UN OUT of US. Pull out of ILO, UNESCO, and all the rest. The UN must be desanctified, pending U.S. withdrawal. This gang of the international ruling class is *not* the "world community."

3. Abolish all foreign aid. Let us devote our resources to tackling problems at home. America First. Let each country solve its own problems, for only they can solve them. In Gaelic, Sinn Fein (Ourselves alone.)

4. Outlaw all lobbying by foreign governments. Making them register is scarcely enough (and honored largely in the breach.) Foreign lobbying is polluting and corrupting American politics. Foreigners can't vote in American elections; they should have no power over American governmental actions.

5. Set up a permanent Congressional Committee devoted to ongoing investigation of foreign lobbyists and their influence over the legislative and executive (and judicial) branches of the U.S. government. Hell—you could even call it "The Un-American Activities Committee." There's ample precedent for that.

6. Recognize that "illegal immigrants" are *illegal*. To say that they should not enjoy welfare payments, medical care, public schooling, etc. should, but unfortunately doesn't, go without saying. Being illegal, they should be rounded up and shipped out.

Recognize that "illegal immigrants" are *illegal*. Being illegal, they should be rounded up and shipped out.

7. English only. English should be the only official language. No one advocates the outlawing of any foreign language; but English should be the sole language of public discourse: citizenship tests, court proceedings, street signs, the ballot, etc. Those immigrants who don't like it are free to leave.

8. Immigration policy needs to be rethought, in this era of rampant multiculturalism and the welfare state. For one thing, status as a refugee needs to be proved, not simply stated by the applying immigrant. The "family reuniting" clause should be repealed; it has been an open sesame for immigration, encouraging phony marriages and fake relatives.

9. A foreign policy devoted solely to the national interest, and not to combating all "aggressors" everywhere or enforcing global "democracy." End all U.S. "sanctions" against other countries for whatever reason, except for direct assaults on Americans.

Here is the sort of New Nationalist Program that could gain the assent of all the seemingly disparate populist factions: Buchananites, Perotvians, Brownians, etc. To some, this may seem a minimal program; it doesn't commit the coalition for or against the welfare state, for example, or even for or against tariffs or import quotas. But believe me, this program would be "maximalist" enough to shiver the timbers of every member of our malevolent ruling class.

Coalitions are just that: "coalitions" based on broad deep common interests and views. We don't have to agree with our coalition partners on every jot and tittle of ideology or program. And none of the factions have to, or should, bury or neglect their own distinctive positions. *Within* the new nationalist coalition, Buchananites can and should argue, in friendly but firm fashion, with their partners over right vs. left, new vs. old culture, welfare state vs. its abolition. And with the Buchananite wing of the coalition, free traders and protectionists can and should try to convince each other of their respective positions. (As they did in the glorious Old Right of the 1930s, 40s, and 50s, when free traders and protectionists, Hamiltonians and Jef-

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fersonians, argued but worked together in happy harmony.)

And let us remember, while building this coalition: that we have nothing to lose but the chains forged for us by the America Last elites; we have America to win! ■

The New York Election: The Hidden Catholic Backlash

by M.N.R.

Upon our obtaining access to the detailed election returns in the New York edition of the *New York Times* (Nov. 4), it turns out that, as usual, my old friend and libertarian colleague Joe Peden was right: that the *Times* analysts distorted and misrepresented the facts of the New York election that should have been obvious from their own data.

Basically, the *Times*, which supported Mayor Dinkins to the hilt, saw no significant change in voting patterns from 1989: a marginal decline in black turnout, a marginal decline in the Dinkins vote among Jewish voters angered about the Crown Heights riot, some increase in white racism. Otherwise, Dinkins was the victim of the national recession. The massive and unprecedented turnout and outpouring of Giuliani voters on little Staten Island, which gave Giuliani a phenomenal 88,000 majority and the election (Giuliani's overall majority was 44,000), was written off by the Times as solely the result of the concurrent referendum for Staten Island secession from the city. The Islanders voted for secession by a whopping 2 to 1 vote. To the extent that any ethno-religious shift was mentioned as playing an important role, the *Times* had the nerve to highlight a shift of white Protestants for Giuliani over the 1989 race. Well sure, white Protestants raised their vote for Giuliani from 70 to 81 percent over four years ago, but considering that the WASP vote in New York is a pitiful six percent of the total, this change was of minimal importance.

It is true that the Staten Island majority for Giuliani was phenomenal. Thus, in the two middle and southern assembly districts of Staten Island, Giuliani

Quotes That Need No Comment

"Five hundred thousand dollars!" said the Rev. Raiford Wheeler of the Park Avenue Christian Church in East Orange [New Jersey]. "That's crumbs from Caesar's table. For us to sell out for half a million dollars is really a joke."—*New York Times.*

The ministers vehemently denied the assertions, made Tuesday by the Republican political strategist Edward J. Rollins, that the campaign had bought their silence. They said his remarks had done irreparable harm to the black church, a keystone of black community tradition and pride.—*New York Times.*

The political debate over the North American Free Trade Agreement is not about tariffs or...even mostly about trade with Mexico.... It is about whether, in the aftermath of the cold war, the United States will try to expand its economic and political influence around the world or whether it will withdraw within its borders and try to go it alone.... Coming at a turning point, the outcome could signify a change in direction or the continuation on a course.

In that respect, it is similar to the Civil Rights Act of 1957.... The actual provisions of that law...did little for the cause of black America. But... had Congress rejected this modest measure...it would have been crushing to the cause of civil rights.

Similarly, said Robert I. Hormats, a vice chairman of Goldman Sachs International, who has been a Government economic official under Democratic and Republican Presidents, rejection of the trade accord would be..."devastating to American foreign policy."—David E. Rosenbaum, *New York Times.*

Mr. [Howard] Stern's is a comedy of the put-down, only instead of picking on the polyester and blue-hair crowd, he socks it to currently protected species. Of Los Angeles looters, whose excuse is that they cannot find jobs: "Who's going to hire you? You've got 37 earrings in your ear, you look as if you stepped off the set of a rap video, your hat is on backwards and you've got your girlfriend's initials carved into your hair."—*New York Times.*

Today's young men are soft and weak. They sit in air-conditioned houses and drive air-conditioned cars. They love luxury too much. They have been ruined for hard, honest work.—Maharaj Hassan Maharaj, pearl fishing captain, Bahrain.

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defeated Dinkins by 83.2 thousand to 8.9 thousand, no less than 90.3% of the vote. But in two southern Brooklyn Assembly Districts of Gravesend-Bensonhurst and Bath Beach, Giuliani defeated Dinkins by 47.6 thousand to 5.5 thousand votes, or 89.6%; while in two districts of Queens, Howard Beach/Ozone Park and Long Island City/Woodside, Giuliani trounced Dinkins by 56.3 thousand to 9.7 thousand votes, a ratio of 85.3 percent. Thus, just six out of the 61 Assembly Districts in New York City provided Giuliani with an overwhelming margin of 163,000 votes.

What is the salient characteristic of these six crucial Giuliani districts? Surely, the Brooklyn districts were not pouring out for the Staten Island cause. They are white, sure, and the white-black confrontation was certainly a critical aspect of the mayoral race. But above all, these are the core districts of Irish and Italian Catholics in New York City. Sure, the white vote shifted by six points since the previous race: from 71 percent for Giuliani in 1989 to 77 percent now. But who were these white votes and how did they change? (Hispanic votes are not counted as "white," and the 13 percent Hispanic vote dropped some of its old Dinkins fervor: from 65 to 60 percent.) The Jews, for all their complaining about Crown Heights, only shifted marginally, and their 17 percent total of the vote changed from 63-65 Giuliani to 68-32 Giuliani, most of the shift taking place among conservative Orthodox Jews in Brooklyn, who increased the intensity of their anti-Dinkins vote. Thus, the Orthodox district of Borough Park voted Giuliani by 23.2 thousand to 3.1 thousand, a ratio of 88.2 percent. On the other hand, left-liberal secular Jews, classically located in the Upper West Side of Manhattan, may have lost some enthusiasm for Dinkins, but they turned out to vote in the old proportions, raising Dinkins's vote from 23.3 thousand to 25.9 thousand this year. No, the key was the white Catholics, who provided 28 percent of the vote, and who shifted en masse, and with a heavier turnout, from 80 percent for Giuliani four years ago to a massive 86 percent today.

For decades the good gray *Times* has treated Catholics with unvarying contempt.

The Dinkins defeat can therefore be attributed to a Catholic backlash. There were three points that particularly stuck in Catholic craws: Dinkins's continued insistence that gays be allowed to march in the traditional annual Irish Catholic St. Patrick's Day parade; Dinkins's vicious insult against Christopher Columbus at the time of his quinquicentennial; and Dinkins-backed public school Chancellor Joe Fernandez's attempt to ram compulsory pro-gay "education" down the throat of small children—an attempt that was stopped by the heroic efforts of Queens Irish Catholic housewife Mary Cummins. The Italian shift was more massive and intense. The Irish, who constituted nine percent of the vote, raised their pro-Giuliani percentage from 69 to 78; while the Italians, twice as numerous as the Irish at 17 percent of the vote, shifted form 76 percent for Giuliani four years ago to 88 percent today.

But there was not a peep about this Catholic backlash amidst the extensive election analysis by the *New York Times*. This is nothing new; for decades, the good gray *Times* has treated Catholics with unvarying contempt; to the *Times*, Catholics are at best an invisible entity. This invisibility is redoubled by the fact that Irish and Italian Catholics largely live in what in New York are known as the "outer boroughs": Brooklyn and Queens, as well as Staten Island. And to the *Times*, the "outer boroughs" are places to be ignored, places that contain LaGuardia and Kennedy Airports and that's about it. For the rest, the left-liberal *Times* dismisses these boroughs as Archie Bunker territory. Manhattan—the home of the media, high finance, the wealthy elites, liberal Jews, Hispanics, and blacks—is the sole object, not only of the *Times*'s concern, but that of other national media as well.

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No Manhattanite ever goes to the outer boroughs if he can help it—except in a cab to the airport—and Manhattan has only tiny pockets of Irish and Italians.

The Bronx gets a wee bit more attention from the media, if only because the Bronx is both closer to Manhattan than the other boroughs and is the only borough that is actually part of the mainland—which gives it a psychological edge in visibility over the benighted boroughs on Long Island or across the bay. And the Bronx, while it too has pockets of Jews and Italians, has many blacks, and is largely Hispanic. Once again, a focus on Manhattan with an eye on the Bronx, will give the Manhattan-bound analyst a totally distorted picture of the New York social and political profile.

Blacks, who had voted 91 percent for Dinkins in 1989, upped the percentage to 95 this year. You can't get more bloc-ish than that.

The votes of the boroughs reflected their ethnic composition. Thus: Manhattan voted 58.6 percent for Dinkins, giving him a margin of 73,000 votes; while the Bronx piled up a 62.3 percentage for Dinkins, for a margin of 68,000 votes. These 141,000 votes were offset (a) by the fact that normally heavily Democratic Brooklyn voted only 50.5 percent for Dinkins, for a margin of only 11,000 votes, (b) allowing Queens and Staten Island to carry the day. Queens voted 60.9 percent for Giuliani, for a 108,000 vote margin, and Staten Island voted 82.6 percent for Giuliani, for an 88,000 vote margin. The victory of Rudy Giuliani was at one and the same time: a triumph of Irish and Italian Catholicism and ofthe outer boroughs, a conquest not only over deep-seated anti-Catholicism but over decades of neglect and contumely.

And of course New York was only one of many large cities in which black rule has been rolled back and replaced by white. The new racial tide in the cities cannot be overlooked. Look at the cities where black mayors have been replaced by white in recent years: Chicago, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, and now New York. And let us also not overlook the fact that, a week later, the WASP Steve Clark, mayor of Miami in the old days when that city was an Anglo southern town, was triumphantly elected to his old seat, defeating the shrill leftist Miriam Alonso, who brutally called for the majority Cubans of Miami to keep the seat "Cuban." This blatant racist call was rejected by the voters, partially because outgoing Cuban-American mayor Xavier Suarez supported Clark.

Lest we feel sorry for the blacks of New York because of white bloc voting, and echo the absurd attack of Slick Willie when campaigning for Dinkins that whites don't want to vote for "the other," let us look at the black vote in New York. Blacks, who had voted 91 percent for Dinkins in 1989, upped that percentage to 95 this year. You can't get more bloc-ish than that. In fact, if we take the vote in the three most heavily black districts in the city: Crown Heights, and Bedford-Stuyvesant in Brooklyn, and Central Harlem in Manhattan, we find a grand total of 78.4 thousand votes for Dinkins, as against 2.4 thousand for Giuliani, a support of no less than 97.0 percent. Hey, and they said that the old Soviet elections were rigged?

It is true that black turnout fell off, particularly among black males, who only voted half as extensively as black females (black females constituted 19 percent of the total vote, males only nine percent!). This falls in with the pattern of ever-increasing—how shall we put it?—*anomie* on the part of black males. The day after the election, TV crews went up to Harlem to ask about how Harlemites felt about the Dinkins defeat. The answers were what one might expect: "It was a racist election"; "they stole the election," etc. But when asked by the TV interviewer whether they had voted, they replied: "Nah! I haven't got time to vote;" or "voting's a white man's game."

The political elites in New York, from Giuliani and Dinkins on down, are now talking the usual guff about unity and healing and putting all the conflict behind them. No savvy New Yorker thinks this anything but malarkey. The view of the

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black males was best expressed by Alissa Cave, a 17-year-old high school senior, who reported that the members of her "class on government" agreed that under Giuliani, "their chances of going to jail are greater than of their being successful." Gee: wonder why? ■

That Brady Bunch

by M.N.R.

So—after years of stumping the country displaying the open sores of his Victimhood, Jim Brady and his harridan wife have managed to guilt-trip the nation into passing that moronic bill, to the wild applause of the corrupt media who triumphantly announce a victory over the National Rifle Association, of all the lobbying groups the only one whose very mention is supposed to evoke hisses and boos from the deluded public. So what's next: the maimed Reginald Denny stumping the country calling for all of us to "fight crime" by outlawing bricks? The Republicans continue their gutless caving in, and the left-liberal goal of gun despotism goes up several notches.

The ultimate liberal goal, is to disarm the public, leaving the U.S. government with the monopoly of arms, a monopoly it will have to share, of course with the criminal classes (or rather, the *non*-governmental wing of the criminal classes). Leaving innocent citizens helpless before the armed might of government and criminals. "Humanitarianism" strikes again!

Far, far better was the old slogan of the Marxist revolutionaries, the direct opposite of left-liberalism: "Arm the people, disarm the State!" ■

The Halperin Case

by M.N.R.

As a veteran anti-foreign interventionist, I must admit to a slightly different view from the rest of the Right on the Halperin question. There's a certain amount of amusement attached to the idea of appointing an anti-war and anti-secret intelligence activist into the heart of the Pentagon, sort of like appointing a veteran tax rebel to be head of the IRS.

But still I am strongly opposed to the Halperin nomination, not for his past sins, but for his current ones. For like most of the rest of the Left, Morton Halperin's anti-war principles suddenly collapsed with the end of the Cold War. He now favors all the post-Cold War interventions, including those of Bush and his current master, Clinton, whom he has apparently secretly served in a military advisory capacity. His prospective post is typically Clintonian-Orwellian: Assistant Secretary of Defense for Democracy and Peacekeeping, a new post which he would be the first one to grace. That's all we need to make our cup of gall complete: a new high military position to be in charge of global war-making ("peacekeeping") to impose democracy throughout the globe. Not only should Congress turn the bum down, but it should abolish this new post altogether. ■

Korean War Redux?

by M.N.R.

Sometime last summer, I was talking to my old friend and libertarian colleague, the historian Joe Peden, about where, against what "Hitler," would the crazed William Jefferson Clinton strike next? Which of dozens of possible Bad Guys, "aggressors," or "non-democrats," would be next on the receiving end of American sanctions, bombs, missiles, or troops? I went down the list: would it be Bosnia, Somalia, Colonel Khaddafy, Saddam, the Iranian mullahs, etc? "Nah," said Joe, who is very perceptive in these matters. "It's going to be North Korea."

I was startled, but as I mulled it over, the prospect became ever more likely. And so I was not totally bewildered when I turned on the tube and had the bad luck to catch that beefy face and that hoarse Arkansas voice I detest so much: "North Korea will cease to exist as a nation." Ye gods! What better way for Willie to put together the pieces of his shattered and incoherent foreign policy: the image of weakness, the Bosnian, Somalian, Haitian disasters? North Korea! The very name reeks of

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the Golden Age of the Cold War. The "last good war" that united both liberals and conservatives was not World War II, but Korea, in which the U.S. got the United Nations to mobilize "the free world" against the Commie aggression by the North. And here was a war that was never really *finished*, was it? By harping on Korea, Slick Willie might sucker conservatives into reviving Cold War memories and rallying behind his foreign policy. North Korea, after all, is indisputably Commie as well as indisputably a dictatorship. And they're supposedly working on a possible nuclear weapon. Ye gods! Time for the U.S.A., which only has nuclear weapons strong enough to destroy the old Soviet Union many times over, to go into its old fear-and-trembling act. We cannot allow it! Nuclear strike!

The hope is, that this is largely hot air and hype. On the part of the U.S., that is. For the new "North Korean threat is, as usual, totally bogus. I refer the reader to a man who is probably the foremost expert on the Korean War, author of the massive two-volume *The Origins of the Korean War* (Princeton, U. Press.) This man, University of Chicago historian Bruce Cumings, is admittedly a leftist, but his analysis of the current phony "crisis" makes a great deal of sense (Bruce Cumings, "Crazy Kim", *The Nation;* Nov. 29).

Cumings points out that the latest "crisis" began with stories on the weekend of November 5-7, coinciding with the visit of our Defense Secretary, the klutz Les Aspin, to Seoul. Suddenly a spate of U.S. stories descended upon us: crazed North Koreans were readying a nuclear bomb, they were forbidding access to international inspectors, and they were massing a full 70 percent of their troops on the South Korean border. All this, of course, was heavy with the implication that North Korea was imminently going to attack our beloved South; hence Clinton's "cease to exist as a nation," supposedly a warning that the U.S. would retaliate massively against a North Korean attack on the South, presumed to be coming at any moment. Major source of these stories: Pentagon officials flying home from Seoul along with Aspin.

The truth, as Cumings reveals, present us with a very different picture. First: more than 75 percent of North Korean troops have been "massed" near the South Korean border *ever since* the late 1970s, in response to new and threatening U.S. nuclear strategies! Second: North Korea has allowed numerous international inspections of its nuclear facility at Yongbyon, and is only balking at "special inspections" of a supposed nuclear waste dump for various technical and minor reasons. Aspin himself admitted that there is "no evidence that North Korea is now producing or reprocessing plutonium." A third aspect of this supposed crisis is that the North Korean forces would be led either by the "dying" despot Kim Il Sung or, even worse, by his "unstable" and "possible psychotic" son, Kim Jong Il.

But here again, the story about the younger Kim's alleged psychosis has been put about by South Korean intelligence for the last quarter century, and the guy has apparently not flipped as yet.

The real story, Cumings shows, is that hysterical alarm about imminent North Korean attacks have been trumped up for the past four decades, usually accompanying one of two periodic events: the annual Congressional debates on defense appropriations; and talks between the Secretary of Defense and South Korean defense officials. This last scare is in the glorious US-S. Korean talk-crisis tradition. The last time a U.S. Defense Secretary visited South Korea was in November 1991, when Secretary Dick Cheney went to Seoul, and an anonymous U.S. defense official rattled the missiles: asserting that if North Korea "missed Desert Storm, this is a chance to catch a rerun."

Professor Cumings concludes his dash of realistic cold water on the latest hysteria on Korea: "No one knows the state of Kim Jong Il's mind, but if I were Kim I'd be a bit paranoid too, since on any given day there is someone in Washington willing to say that we might wipe his country off the face of the earth—and sometimes it's the President himself." ■

Health Insurance: The Clintons' Phony Populism

by M.N.R.

Everyone knows that Co-President Hillary has launched a blistering and demagogic attack

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on the "health insurance industry" for its very effective "Harry and Louise" TV ads sharply questioning some of the most dictatorial features of the Clinton Health Plan. La Rodham led the charge against the Health Insurance Association of America [HIAA], which sponsored the ads, posing as an enemy of that old devil, Big Business. The media, of course, have gone along with this ploy.

What no one is bothering to tell us, however, is that the HIAA is *not* the spokesman for Big Health Insurance. On the contrary, as Sam Husseini tells us in *The Nation* ("Hillary & Bill & Harry & Louise," Dec. 13), the real point is that the HIAA mainly consists of the small and medium-sized health insurance firms. The Big Five health insurers: Aetna, Prudential, Metropolitan Life, Cigna, and Travelers, have formed their *own* organization, The Alliance for Managed Competition, which essentially favors the Clinton Plan! For the Clinton Plan of course is grounded on the concept of the "managed competition" of governmentally privileged HMOs, or health alliance cartels—the very reverse of the free competition that is more congenial to the smaller firms. Worse than that: the notorious Jackson Hole Group, which formed the original draft of the Clinton Health Plan (albeit not quite as leftist as the final version), was mainly financed by these same Big Insurers (with the exception of Travelers).

"The compelling question, then, is not who's behind 'Harry and Louise' but who's behind Bill and Hillary?"

Why do the Big Insurers favor the Clinton Plan? Because, notes Husseini, the "big insurers stand to gain from the Clinton plan's increased corporatization of health care since they have been rapidly buying HMOs, 45 percent of which are now owned by the eight largest insurance companies." And the HMOs, of course, are the essence of the managed competition-cartel plan. Husseini adds that the Big Insurers-HMO money for ads, which basically favor the Clinton Plan, "dwarf the moneys spent" by the HIAA, or, for that matter, by the Democrat and Republican parties.

More specifically, Patrick Woodall, of the Naderite Public Citizen, points out that "The managed competition-style plan the Clintons have chosen virtually guarantees that the five largest health insurance companies . . . will run the show in the health care system." And Robert Dreyfuss of Physicians for a National Health Program charges that "The Clintons are getting away with murder by portraying themselves as opponents of the insurance industry. It's only the small fry that oppose their plan. Under any managed competition scheme, the small ones will be pushed out of the market very quickly."

The fact that *The Nation* and these other critics of Clintonian health themselves favor an even worse and more openly socialistic health plan—"the single payer" scheme—does not damage the validity of their charges. Let's put it this way: the Clintons are not socialists in the single-minded sense of Marx or Lenin or Stalin. They are collectivists-cartellists, collectivists who want Big Government to be partners of Big Business and Big Labor in running the country—in the manner of corporate collectivists such as Italian fascism or the New Deal. To say that we don't need either model is a masterpiece of understatement.

Husseini's final sentence needs a lot of pondering: "The compelling question, then, is not who's behind 'Harry and Louise' but who's behind Bill and Hillary?" Who indeed? Don't we need a congressional investigation, armed with subpoena power, to find out? ■

The Wizard of Wichita

by Joe Melton

Charles G. Koch (pronounced "Coke"), billionaire oilman out of Wichita, Kansas, has been the Donor and hence the effective ruler of the bulk of the Libertarian Movement for the past two decades. Koch is notor-

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ious for trying to avoid publicity; he is the sort of tycoon who would pay a P.R. man to keep him *out* of the papers rather than to get him in. He has dominated the movement by means of a changing network of institutions and satraps, which have been summed up by observers as "the Kochtopus" or "the Koch Machine." Since Koch himself keeps a low profile, charting the changing personnel, themes, and ideological line of the Kochtopus is complex enough to keep a half-dozen professional "Kochologists" busy full-time, if there were a demand for such a profession.

Recently, there have been vague rumors emerging from the Kochtopus, most of which is centered in and around Washington, D.C., about a new and intense change of focus for Koch, and therefore for Koch's eager entourage of payrollees and grantees, actual and potential, as well as hangers-on and assorted yes-men. The major concentration has been on something new and mysterious called "market-based management," pushed by numerous Kochian institutions and their fuglemen. Fellowships are granted for people to come to Wichita to observe "market-based management" [MBM] in action, and in particular the glorious success that Charles Koch has allegedly enjoyed by infusing his company, Koch Industries, with MBM management philosophy. The Kochian Center for Market Processes at George Mason University, once part of the economics department and teaching Austrian economics, then shifting its focus to nihilistic "hermeneutic" philosophy and its alleged connection with economics, has now gone off campus, and left the economics department, to devote itself entirely to Charles's new kick, MBM.

And yet try as I and others might, none of us has been able to figure out what this elusive MBM is all about. Take, for example, the rumored epiphany that Koch experienced, the revelation that set him on the glorious path of MBM. There was some oil well or oil rig that had broken, and the best engineering brains in Koch Industries were unable to figure out how to fix it. Charles, so the story goes, was standing looking at the offending rig one day along with his workers and engineers, when he rhetorically said to the workworkman next to him:"How could that be fixed?" To which the workman replied; "Oh, I can fix it," walked over to the rig, turned a screw or put in the plug or whatever, and bing! it was fixed!

From this incident, Charles Koch supposedly derived the great new truth that every worker, not just the trained elite, can contribute insights and creativity to a business.

This is a great insight? Who hasn't known this since factories

Rating Senate Republicans

— The Noble 43 —

Slick Willie had the colossal nerve to refer to the Congressmen who sold their votes to him as "noble." But the truly noble Congressmen were the courageous 43 Republicans who stood fast against the leadership and the majority of their party to take their stand against NAFTA. Usually we don't rate House members here, but on this vital occasion, the 43 anti-NAFTA voters should be honored; the others, the pro-Clinton-Trilat 132, should be cast down into permanent infamy.

Alabama
Terry Everett

Alaska
Don Young

California
John Doolittle
Elton Gallegly
Duncan Hunter
Ed Royce

Florida
Michael Bilirakis
Charles T. Canady
Lincoln Diaz-Balart
Ileana Ros-Letinen
Cliff Stearns

Georgia
Mac Collins
Jack Kingston

Idaho
Michael D. Crapo

Indiana
Dan Burton
John T. Myers

Kentucky
Jim Bunning
Harold Rogers

Maine
Olympia Snowe

Maryland
Roscoe Bartlett
Helen Delich Bentley

Massachusetts
Peter I. Blute

Missouri
James M. Talent

Nevada
Barbara Vacanovich

New Jersey
Jim Saxton

New York
Benjamin A. Gilman
John M. McHugh
Jack Quinn
Gerald B.H. Soloman
James T. Walsh

North Carolina
Charles H. Taylor

Ohio
Martin R. Hoke
Ralph Regula

Oklahoma
James M. Inhofe

Pennsylvania
Rick Santorum
Bud Shuster
Curt Weldon

South Carolina
Bob Inglis
Arthur Ravenel, Jr.
Floyd D. Spence

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and businesses were launched. Why are there suggestion boxes in every hall of every business? Could this empty banality be what MBM is all about?

If not banal, is MBM wacko? Is it, in short, the nutty and leftist theory that has been kicking around for years on the fringes of the movement: that the *firm itself* is evil and hierarchical, that the business firm is a vicious "island of socialism" in the midst of the market economy, and that the Marxists were really right when they referred to "wage slavery?" This crazy idea ignores several crucial facts: for example, that the wage contract is nothing else and can be nothing else than a "market" exchange: labor service for money, the service of advancing the production of a good that will eventually be sold to consumers. Agreeing to obey managerial orders in exchange for money, it should be clear, differs radically from socialism, where the "exchange" is coerced by the bayonet. And secondly, *all* management in the market economy is necessarily "market-based," for all business firms have to sell their product to the market, and have to try to sell in such a way that the revenue they receive on that market is greater than the costs they pay out. So, if all private business management is necessarily "market based," what in Hell is MBM?

As long as we had to rely only on rumor, it was of course difficult to get any real handle on what MBM is all about. But now, at long last, Charles G. Koch has, at least for the moment, stepped out of the shadows and presented a brief version of his new perspective, his new vision, not just on MBM, but on what may charitably be called his entire social philosophy. At last, Koch Speaks! and has gone public about it. The Kochian Institute for Humane Studies [IHS] has just published a 16-page pamphlet, consisting of a speech that Koch, who is Chairman of the Board of IHS, delivered in January, 1993, on the occasion of the 10th anniversary celebration of the IHS's Claude Lambe fellowships, granted by the Claude Lambe Charitable Foundation, of which Charles Koch happens to be chairman of the board. Now, at last, interested observers are able to grapple with at least that part of the Kochian vision that he is willing to share with the general public.

The Donor presents a fog of empty banalities, punctuated by points that are clearer but ominous.

Koch's speech, "An Investment in Change," turns out to be a revelation, though perhaps not in the way that Charles intended. It doesn't really clear up the mystery of MBM, but it is a revelation into the mental processes and the world-outlook of The Donor, the man who has long been the dominant driving force in the libertarian movement. What he presents us is a fog of empty banalities, punctuated by points that are clearer but all too ominous.

There are, in the pamphlet, one or two obeisances to "liberty" and "classical liberalism," the principles, after all, on which the late F.A. Harper founded IHS. Since Koch claims to have taken up the mantle of Harper, he could hardly do otherwise. Even when he pays ritualistic respect to liberty, however, he gets things wrong. Thus, he warns us that "the version of classical liberalism that we support treats liberty as a means, rather than as an end." No classical liberal or libertarian, however, has ever been moronic enough to treat liberty as man's ultimate end; it is, as the libertarian Lord Acton put it, the "highest *political* end," not the highest end of human life itself.

But set that aside. For the essential thrust of the Kochian vision has nothing to do with liberty. To Koch, it is clear, the highest good is "change." We must, he says repeatedly, "embrace change," embrace it in society and in our everyday lives. The bad, for Koch, is then *resistance to change*. Koch chides us, "We are advocates of social change, yet we resist change in our strategies, methodologies, and institutions." Instead, "we need to embrace change...and not regard it as something special or threatening."

The major cause of resistance to change, it turns out, is not so much habit or economic interest

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(a concept never mentioned in the pamphlet) as "rigid ideology or orthodoxy." The key evil is rigid ideology, oddly enough, *regardless* of what the ideology may happen to be. Take, for example, this curious but central passage: "Despite claims and intentions to the contrary, rigid ideologies—even rigid versions of conservatism, liberalism, or libertarianism—not only limit learning, but lead away from a free society and social progress."

So "rigid libertarianism" is contrary not only to "social progress" but also to "a free society!" Hmm. I wonder *which* "rigid libertarians" Koch may have in mind? (One guess.) I suppose one can understand, from Koch's worship of change, *per se*, why he would think that "rigid libertarianism" would block "social progress"—*if*, of course, one is willing to define "social progress" as *any sort* of change. But Koch doesn't bother to instruct us how "rigid libertarianism" can militate against liberty.

Koch is so taken with rigid ideology as The Enemy that he goes on to a very odd and rather chilling point. It turns out that Marx ("and Freud," although what Freud has to do with all this is hazy) was really a pretty good bloke (after all he favored *change*, didn't he?) but that "whatever value and insight one finds in the writings of Marx and Freud" was ruined by their rotten followers who "adopted narrow and rigid interpretations of their writings." It would be nice if Koch would enlighten us on what those valuable insights of Marx may have been, before they were interpreted away by those terrible rigid Marxists. Then Koch gives us this breathtakingly simple summation of twentieth century history: "We can trace our century's totalitarian disasters, and numerous other miseries, to those theoretical schools that have made theories all-embracing and difficult to check.... Critics, rather than being viewed as people to learn from, are branded as heretics.... We all know the suffering that the Marxians' faulty methodology and dogmatism have caused."

Koch has become a kind of village Popperian, but it is doubtful that even Karl Popper would be happy with the view that totalitarianism has nothing at all to do with Power, or with the economic interests of the ruling elite, or with envy, or even with collectivism or socialism: that the whole problem rests with the "faulty methodology and dogmatism" of Marxian theorists! It is interesting that Koch doesn't try to apply this curious theory to Nazi totalitarianism, perhaps because its absurdity would become all too evident. So how did Nazism go wrong? Were Hitler's valuable insights corrupted by his "rigid" and "dogmatic" followers? Or what?

So "rigid libertarianism" is contrary not only to "social progress" but also to "a free society!"

In contrast to dogmatism-totalitarianism, Koch celebrates as "movements toward a free society" (in addition to the collapse of Communist governments), only two things: "the Industrial Revolution," and Popperian-type non-dogmatic physical science. But, unfortunately, neither of these has anything to do with causing social movements, one way or another. Both of these items are egregious "category mistakes." The Industrial Revolution was *brought about by* a free society; it did not itself bring about liberty. On physical science, Koch suddenly lapses into an irrelevant bit of Einstein-worship, calling Einstein "perhaps the greatest scientist of this century," presumably because he "formulated his theories with a high degree of specific content that invited interaction between theory and facts." Well, so what? Physical science always proceeds in this manner of explaining and being tested by facts; but what has this to do with liberty, politics, or social change? It is only relevant, unfortunately, if Koch has embraced what Hayek, at least in his pre-Popper phase, denounced as "scientism," or what the social-democrat Popper praises as "piecemeal social engineering." Is *this* what this is all about, Charlie?

Apparently so. For it looks

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very much that Koch is enamored of change *for its own sake*, and not simply because change is moving toward a desired goal. To say the latter, you see, would make us "dogmatists," trying to impose our own rigid and feeble standards on the processes of change. We must, says Koch, be "open," and we must "embrace change as an opportunity for improvement." But how do we know what is "improvement" and what is the reverse; or as Koch puts it, "healthy evolution rather than erosion of rules of just conduct?" Who knows? On Kochian grounds, we never really can know, so great is our ignorance. Being eternally "open," says Koch, doesn't mean "watering down one's core values." But it is difficult to figure out what these "core values" are supposed to be, or if any old "core values" are OK. Certainly, Koch gives us no clue whatever. No: all the emphasis is on the wonders of change, change, apparently including Marx; the only bad thing is dogmatic resistance to same. (Presumptive examples: Stalin, and "rigid" libertarians.)

How does MBM fit in? Charles may be remarkably hazy about what liberty, or "the principles of a free society," may mean, except that it is wrapped up in flexibility, openness, and "change," but yet, he says, he has "worked to apply" these principles "in all aspects of his life, including philanthropy, business, and family." Whatever these ideas and principles may be, he hastens to assure us that "my ideas have evolved over time, and will continue to do so as I continue to learn." All right, so *what are* these ideas, and how precisely are principles of liberty to be applied "to all aspects" of life? This phrasing brings to mind the prattling of many libertarians over the years about "living liberty." Apart from refraining from stealing from your fellow-men or hitting them over the head, what exactly is "living liberty" supposed to *mean*? (Surely there must be something more to "living liberty" than refraining from being a robber?)

Koch, once again, fails to tell us anything about applying libertarian principles to life and family, but he *does* say something about specific application to business, and here's where MBM comes in. Here Koch tells us of the "need to develop market-based solutions to the failing command management approach of U.S. for-profit and non-profit institutions." And here Koch, very oddly, draws the wacky analogy between socialist planning, and hierarchical organization *within* business firms. Thus: "We need to consider questions such as: How do we apply to organizations the lessons we have learned about what makes a free-market society so much more productive than a command-oriented one? . . . How do we apply the lessons from the collapse of Eastern European economies to the analogous knowledge and incentive structures in command-based firms?" Gone is the whole point: socialist economies collapse for lack of a price system based on private property and market exchange; but "the command-based firms" under capitalism are all functioning *within* such a price and exchange system!

But never fear: for Charles has found The Answers to these nonsensical questions! "Over the last 30 years, we have been seeking to answer some of these questions at Koch Industries, developing a management methodology that we call 'market based management.'" "The consequences for a free society for interactions within firms," Koch says out of his thirty years of experience, "are just as important as interactions among firms." But just as he has announced the Answer that he, Charles Koch, has developed over three decades to these absurd questions, just as he is on the point of unveiling the new Science of Market-Based Management, *he stops*! For that folks, is *it*, and he is on to calling for openness and change. We are no wiser about MBM now than we were when we started.

Charles Koch speaks throughout this work of the importance of IHS's "mission," of advancing that mission with all its resources. But what exactly *is* that "mission"? The Founder, F.A. Harper's, mission was, in fact, crystal-clear. Harper was a hard-core libertarian, even a "rigid" and "dogmatic" one. Koch, who claims that Harper anointed him before his death with the responsibility of advancing the IHS mission, admits that he has been in the process of "revising" and "advancing beyond" that original mission. The requirements of taking over a pre-existing institution constrained Koch into paying occacasional lip-service to the original

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missionary goal of liberty and the free society. But that goal is, for Koch, never defined or explained. There comes a point in any mission where "revising," and "openness to change," takes one over into a very different mission indeed. The only clear aspects of the new Kochian mission are its devotion to change, change for its own sake, and hostility to any rigid resistance to change, even in behalf of liberty. Worship of change, and a salute to Marx though not to his rigid followers: One wonders what in the world William and Hillary Rodham Clinton could find wrong with the new Kochian mission? Poor F.A. Harper must be spinning rapidly in his grave.

One close and long-time associate of Harper and of IHS told me that Koch's speech was an "outrage." It is impossible to call it anything else. One wonders, also, how the IHS associates, fellows, and graduates who assembled for Koch's speech felt about its peroration, when Koch told them: "I know you are well aware of the investment the [Lambe] Foundation and the Institute have made in each of you, financially, personally, and spiritually." How do they feel about this "investment," and what Charles may expect from them in the future about "repaying" it, as they carry on their designated mission for change? Were they as chilled as I was? In any case, it might be well for all Kochean payrollees and grantees—as his present and future "missionaries"—to pay careful note to the kind of mission they might be getting into.

And "market-based management"? Whether it is only a glorified Suggestion Box or it is based on the harebrained analogy between socialism and the business firm, Charles Koch, its founder, on the point of unveiling the meaning of MBM, failed to do so. It is beginning to seem that, like the Wizard of Oz (a story written by another Kansan), behind the veil and the hokum disseminated by the Wizard of Wichita, there is, quite simply, nothing there. Despite the trumpeting of All the Koch's Horses and All the Koch's Men, the highly touted MBM simply doesn't exist. The Kochian Emperor has no clothes. ■

The Carnage of Liberalism

by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

When Colin Ferguson went shooting on the Long Island Railroad, he aimed only at whites and Asians. Crumpled notes in his pocket, headed "reasons for this," spewed hatred against his victims. He even delayed his murders until the train left New York City. "Because of my respect for Mayor David Dinkins," he explained in one note.

The killer's attitude is not unique. It is reinforced in government policy, universities, and popular culture. Is the underlying cause of this heinous crime liberalism itself? "I hate them with a passion," Ferguson wrote of his white neighbors. That's our culture's attitude in a nutshell.

For decades now, liberals have told blacks they are victims of whites. Any problems they have individually or as a community are the white man's fault. They need and deserve cosseting by the government, and special treatment by the private sector.

Everything from affirmative action to shorter prison sentences for violent criminals reinforces this special treatment. Reason is thrown out the window when any public tragedy is tinged with racial overtones. We can't punish inner city rioting, and a senate staffer recently suggested we can't increase the penalties for rape.

"He feels discriminated against by everything and everyone," said a lawyer to excuse Ferguson's actions. Poor baby! The killer is the son of a middle-class pharmacist and made the deans's list at Nassau Community College, but our culture tells him to feel victimized.

Turn on any black radio station, and you get an earful of hate. In the African-American section of the bookstore, almost all books reinforce hatred of The Man. Black newspapers are dedicated to discovering white malice in the day's news. The nation's tv networks and op-ed pages have long preached white racism as the cause of all underclass ills, and liberal academics agree.

Afro-centric education, in all schools and colleges now, teaches that whites suppressed and stole black contributions in the arts, science, and philosophy, that Aristotle, Bach, and Einstein were

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frauds. This makes as much sense as the popular beliefs that whites invented AIDS and crack to bring about black genocide, but the hatred it legitimizes is murderous.

The welfare state tells poor blacks that they deserve a large slice of other people's earnings. Since this became official policy, property crime has zoomed. Who can be surprised? If you can take other people's money through the ballot box, why not eliminate the middleman?

In large cities, white pedestrians have to live with racial harassment, while liberals say the public should ignore it, or accept it as just, even when it's a prelude to a mugging.

Juries are tied in knots by blacks who refuse to consider convicting a black perpetrator. The excuse is echoed all across the culture—there are too many young black males in prison—as if that eliminated the need for individual justice.

Liberals have fueled envy and hatred of all the successful, including Asians, who threaten to replace whites as number one on the hate parade. And murder is the result.

We hear that the answer is gun control. Yet Ferguson bought his 9-mm. pistol after a 15-day waiting period. Who doubts that he would somehow have found a gun even if the waiting period were 15 years? The answer is not to ban guns, but to arm the people. If the train passengers had been properly outfitted, it is Ferguson who would be dead.

We are paying a bloody price for decades of liberalism, and Ferguson is only one of many examples. Another was Damian Williams, who smashed Reginald Denny's head with a brick simply because he was the wrong race. The list could go on and on.

For the sake of public order—the first requirement of a decent society—we need widespread gun ownership by the law-abiding, and an end to liberal sanctioning of racial violence. ■

Federal Insurance Fraud

by L.H.R., Jr.

The movie classic "Double Indemnity" tells the story of an attempted insurance fraud. A wife conspired to murder her husband and collect his life insurance, a double payment because of the cause of death. She was foiled by a tough-minded insurance company executive.

But the film also showed how insurance is supposed to work. The company offered double payment on its life insurance policies if the insured were killed when he fell off a moving train. Why did the company offer such a proviso? Because the data told it that this virtually never happened, and when it did, executives suspected foul play.

Despite what the left would claim, insurance companies are in the business of making money, not granting welfare. The firm must collect more in premiums than it pays out in settlements. And to do that reliably, the company's actuaries must correctly assess the risks inherent under every set of relevant circumstances.

Most of us don't know the odds of our falling off a train (although with Amtrak, they're undoubtedly higher than when the trains were private). But we don't have to know the odds. Insurance companies do, if they offer that form of insurance. For when a company grants insurance against some random event, it is betting that it is not going to happen.

What are the chances of being killed by an asteroid? Pretty slim. If a company insures against that, it will charge extremely low premiums.

What are the chances that a member of a drug-dealing inner-city gang will be gunned down? Pretty high. That means very high premiums, or, probably, no insurance at all.

The risk inherent in most insured events for any one person at any one time falls somewhere between the impossible and the unlikely. It's not easy to stay ahead of the uncertainties that nature imposes on us. It is a business that can only be handled by hard-bitten capitalists.

Sound insurance principles, as well as the rule of law, require that people who try to defraud the company be weeded out. If an astronaut applies for an asteroid-protection policy, he has to tell the truth about his profession or face possible criminal penalties. Neither can a member of the Crips or the Bloods be allowed to lie about his address.

Insurance fraud is still illegal—for people in the private sector, anyway. It's not for the central government, of course. In fact, it seems to be mandatory, and the feds are about to perpetrate

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the biggest insurance fraud in American history, with the taxpayers enlisted to pay double indemnity in perpetuity.

I speak, of course, of Hillary's health communism, her plan to force health insurance on the entire country through subsidies and business mandates. She and Healthintern head Ira Magaziner are telling us that everyone can be "insured" against all medical costs regardless of preexisting conditions, especially if that condition is politically correct. This is like insurance companies offering fire insurance on a burning house.

This violates economic law, and creates a moral hazard. For if insurance companies don't root out insurance fraud, they create a perverse incentive structure that can turn many of their customers into plunderers. The result is bankruptcy.

When government offers insurance universally and regardless of risk, it creates the same sort of moral hazard. It reduces the incentive to avoid the behavior it is insuring against.

Universal, government-mandated health insurance will increase the amount of unhealthiness in society by reducing the will to health. If medical care comes at zero additional price, risky behaviors carry fewer penalties, and healthy behavior fewer rewards.

In private markets, your behavior determines your risk pool. When you get a speeding ticket, your auto insurance goes up. Keep up the behavior, and you won't be able to get insurance at all (absent government intervention, of course). This is as it should be.

In a market economy, there is no subsidized flood insurance for people who live on a flood plain. There is no subsidized fire insurance for people who live surrounded by combustible underbrush and on a mountain far away from a fire station. We can live in these areas, but in a free market we do so at our own risk and cost, including very high premiums or perhaps no insurance at all.

Under Clintonian health insurance, everyone gets covered for everything (unless you're unlucky enough to belong to a non-p.c. group, and have what Hilary calls a bad "quality of life," when the government will

More Quotes That Need No Comment

The millions of Gypsies of Eastern Europe have emerged as great losers from the overthrow of Communism and the end of the rigid controls that it imposed on daily life....

In one interview, a senior counselor in Slovakia who insisted he not be named because "my words would be taken as racist," volunteered views that seem typical: "Under socialism, we said that two species were overprotected—bears and Roma [Gypsies.] They didn't have to work. They had many children and received a lot of welfare. Today, too, they get a lot. A family with two children that works hard gets as much as a Roma family with a lot of children without work. They spend it in a few days, then go back to stealing.... These are not my opinions, the official concluded. "I am giving you an objective picture."—Henry Kamm, *New York Times*

Prime Minister Vladimar Meciar of Slovakia said in a speech...that Gypsies constituted a "socially unadaptable population" with a high birth rate of "children who are poorly adaptable mentally, poorly adaptable socially, children with serious health disorders, children, simply, who are a great burden on society...." Jan Vik, the parliamentary deputy of the right-wing Republican Party in the Czech Republic, said he saw the problem as one of criminality. "We can't wait for the country to be flooded by crime," he said. "At age 3 a Gypsy will see his drunk father, his prostitute mother, and all we try to do for him will prove in vain. His parents tell him the best way of life is stealing...other suggestions were less charitable. Jozef Pacai, the Mayor of Medzev [in Slovakia], said selective killing of Gypsies was the only solution.—Henry Kamm, *New York Times*

Headline of the Month: "DID WIESENTHAL COMMIT HOLOCAUST HERESY?"—*Los Angeles Times*

This may be the market, but it's not democracy as most Russians envisioned it. It's not real equality. When American experts confuse democracy with the market economy, they are unwittingly giving democracy a bad name.—Yelena Khanga, author of *Soul to Soul: A Black Russian American Family, USA Today*

Rush Limbaugh [was] reverently cited by [Al]Gore as one of those "distinguished citizens" favoring Nafta.... The Limbaugh cult has pretty much finished off the object of its adoration. Now he's getting daily phone calls from William Bennett, has been on the cover of *The National Review* and is so clogged with iconic self-importance he can barely speak.—Alexander Cockburn, *The Nation*

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kill you). The regional health collectives—the risk pools—will be chosen with politics and redistribution in mind, not demographic and other risks. Joining the Crips or frequenting bathhouses will not increase your premiums. Marathoners will pay no less than couch potatoes.

And as the administration has promised, nobody will be able to take away your government-mandated insurance. This is the reverse of market-based insurance.

Clintonian health insurance, however, tricks the middle class into becoming financially and psychologically dependent on the state. The long history of government "insurance" shows how successful this trick is, and how much long-term damage it does.

Frequenting bathhouses will not increase your premiums. Marathoners will pay no less than couch potatoes.

Otto von Bismarck pioneered in passing off middle-class welfare as social insurance. Most decent people disapprove of the dole. But social insurance? That seems entirely reasonable. The government protects people against uncertainties, just like private insurance.

The English government also excelled at duping the public with social insurance. The Fabians preferred this form of socialism over violent revolution, though the long-run consequences are not significantly different.

Even without the Clintons' health care scheme, however, our own central government offers all sorts of insurance policies, which invite the policy holders to empty the public purse.

One such is offered to bankers. It's called deposit insurance.

Like the insurance company in "Double Indemnity," banks once had an incentive to keep costs and risks down. Market competition—and the threat of bank runs—forced bankers to remain solvent. If banks lent out more deposits than they promised to keep available for withdrawal on demand, they could go belly up. Bankers would compete by advertising high reserve ratios and pursuing only sound investments. This is good for the economy, of course.

But with the mass entrepreneurial errors of the Great Depression, caused by the Federal Reserve's business cycle, Franklin D. Roosevelt—the Bismarck of America—made federal deposit insurance part of his New Deal revolution against the Constitution. The bankers did not mind, of course. They no longer had to compete for customers in the same way and bad loans would be bailed out by phony insurance.

Under deposit insurance, bankers get double indemnity payments on errors of their own creation. Depositors don't care, so long as they get the cash when they want it. But the public pays, through outright taxation or the hidden tax of inflation.

Throughout its history, deposit insurance has caused bankers to make unsound loans and to invest irresponsibly. And as we saw in the S&L scandals, it has caused moral hazards that cost taxpayers tens of billions by externalizing costs that once were born internally.

The government also offers unemployment "insurance." If this had been advertised as welfare, it might never have passed. Instead, you collect a "monthly settlement" funded by "prior premiums."

But employment, by its very nature, cannot be insured in a market, any more than entrepreneurship can. It is not a random event. Only random events, with premiums carefully controlled for risk, are conducive to profit-making insurance.

Deposit insurance also creates the illusion of sticky wages and a genuinely stagnant job market. In a recession, wages are supposed to fall. With such insurance, wages stay high. Unemployment induces disastrous Keynesian policies like fiscal stimulus and monetary stimulus, public works, jobs programs, inflation, and price supports. If labor markets were allowed to correct downward, and involuntary unemployment abolished, the political support for such programs would be much smaller.

Instead, unemployment in-

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surance has become one of the most untouchable aspects of the welfare state. It has led people to believe that they have a right to a constant income stream. We were much better off in the old days, when wages were tied to productivity. There was no profit to be gained from endlessly looking or waiting for a job. But now, lazing around pays "double indemnity."

When George Bush was confronted with growing unemployment a year before the election, he gave in to media and congressional pressure and extended unemployment benefits. Lo and behold, three months later, joblessness was an even greater problem. If the Democrats had sought to create the appearance of a falling economy, badgering Bush to subsidize unemployment was just the thing.

We may yet see this program explode out of control. It has been a long time since we have had a serious and sudden all-round recession, or depression, as they used to call it, before that word was outlawed as politically incorrect. If we have a depression, possibly under the Clintons, and as many people begin drawing on their insurance as are eligible, we will see a real fiscal crisis and a spiraling loss of jobs.

Such a situation would look very much like a bank run. Every one will want what has been promised. But everyone will know that all claims cannot be paid without bankrupting the Treasury.

But government has still another insurance policy to sell you: against want in old age. Under the free market, the best protection against poverty among the elderly was a high savings rate during one's productive years, and a large family. Social Security—the most insidious form of government insurance except perhaps Clinton's medical nationalization—subverted both savings and children, with horrifying economic and social consequences.

Today, Social Security is widely recognized as a Ponzi or pyramid scheme, although a very successful one for Washington, D.C., since it has harnessed an influential dependent class to the state. Social Security, and the related Medicare, constitute insurance fraud on a massive scale. Recipients get checks for far more than they paid in (and their Money was spent long ago). It's "triple indemnity."

Social Security has turned the people society ought to look to for leadership and wisdom—the elderly—into an hysterical lobby.

Social Security has also caused intergenerational warfare. It has turned the people society ought to look to for leadership and wisdom—the elderly—into a hysterical lobby demanding ever-greater handouts at the expense of the young.

Alan Greenspan "saved" Social Security once in the 1980s by raising its flat income tax perpetually, but everyone knows the scheme cannot last, as fewer and fewer workers pay for more and more retirees. What young person today believes that Social Security will take care of him in *his* old age?

Social Security is going bankrupt, and as with all these phony insurance plans, that may be the only hope we have for middle-class welfare reform. It will cause middle-class people to start having children, and start saving, again. It may even cause the middle class to sever its co-dependency relationship with the state.

Maybe Americans will come to see that whether the government is providing insurance for banks, workers, the elderly, or the sick, we will get more of what we're subsidizing, whether it's non-responsibility, non-work, or non-health. Premiums do not match risks, tax-payers are looted, the beneficiaries transfer their loyalty from the family and other private institutions to the state, massive quantities of public and private resources are wasted, and we are a much poorer society in every sense.

With private insurance, we would know that fraud was involved. With the public sector, we can know that *legal* fraud is the necessary foundation. And despite promises to the contrary, we can know that the middle class is the ultimate victim. ■

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P.C. Watch

by L.H.R., Jr.

Ozone: It's a White Thing

"A lot has been said recently about the thinning of the ozone layer," wrote David Bush in *Interrace* (9-10/93), an Atlanta magazine. "Interestingly, it turns out that the whole issue is really of concern to fair-skinned Caucasians."

In fact, "it is possible that 'lard-white skin' just will not make it in this new world reality!" That's why "fair-skinned individuals" should choose "a mate who will contribute a darker complexion to the genetic makeup of their offspring."

To promote "interracial coupling," the government should "establish summer camps and work camps where majority children would encounter minority children in a relaxed atmosphere, away from social constraints. Majority girls would participate in camps" with "minority boys, and vice versa," without "prejudicial pressures or obsolete taboos." In addition, "the public should be educated about the positive aspects of a darker complexion" through government-funded television ads. (*Harpers*, 12/93)

American Writers

When she received the 1993 Nobel Prize in literature, Toni Morrison "delivered a lovingly wrought paean to language and to the sublime vocation of 'word work,'" said reporter John Darnton in the *New York Times* (12/8/93). "Those with long memories compared it to the 1950 lecture by William Faulkner."

"Oppressive language," said Morrison, "does more than represent violence; it is violence." Such language can even cause "tongue suicide." In America, "children have bitten their tongues off and use bullets instead to iterate the voice of speechlessness."

Tagging

"Hook up, calm down, know what you're gonna do—and then bust," said a tagger named Nuke to a packed undergraduate classroom at UCLA, where he is lecturing on graffiti art. "Some look at the Los Angeles River bed and see a pox of tangled ganglia, a lurid mess of bulbous letters and oversized chicken scratches," said reporter Shawn Hubler (*Los Angeles Times*, 11/18/93). "But to the connoisseur, issues abound: the fluid New York style versus the more linear Los Angeles approach, the challenge of can control, the issue of tips. The shallow derivativeness of the post-Chaka era. Not to mention that it is, ahem, against the law."

The class was World Art and Cultures 130, taught by visiting professor Judith Baca, "an arts activist" who said she wanted to explore the "fine line between community sensitivity and censorship."

Nuke and his colleague Duke,

Rating Senate Republicans

— Nafta: The Noble Ten —

Everyone talked about the House vote on Nafta (Nov. 17), but nobody paid attention to the Senate vote three days later. And yet that vote, 61 to 38 for Nafta, is highly significant; for Nafta failed to pass by a two-thirds vote. And that means that Nafta is unconstitutional, for the Constitution provides that any treaty to pass, requires a two-thirds vote of the U.S. Senate. It is precisely because Franklin Roosevelt and later scoundrel Presidents could not get two-thirds approval for many of their treaties that they concocted the "executive agreement," which is in every respect like a treaty and yet requires only a simple majority of both houses. And yet the Constitution recognizes no such animal as "executive agreement." Nafta is unconstitutional!

The Senate Democrats turned down Nafta by 28-27; once again, the monstrous Republicans took on the task of "saving the Clinton presidency." Republicans backed Nafta by 34 to 10. The heroic and noble Ten should go down in song and story, along with the House 43. The other 34 are renegades, and Clinton-Trilat Cartelists, and should be treated accordingly.

The Anti-Nafta Ten:

Alaska: Ted Stevens
Idaho: Dirk Kempthorne, Larry Craig
Maine: William S. Cohen
Montana: Conrad Burns
New Hampshire: Robert Smith
New York: Alfonse D'Amato
North Carolina: Lauch Faircloth, Jesse Helms
South Carolina: Strom Thurmond

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who also lectured, belong to Earth Crew, a "group of environmentally concerned artists" who will only use spray paint without CFCs.

"In New York, they had to bust things quickly because they were working on subways. Here, we have more time," said Nuke. "We're more into the line, getting that can control." Then there is the nozzle. Often it's the "basketball tip" from an unnamed aerosol product, a sort of "poor man's airbrush that creates a swath of paint as broad as a basketball."

The federal government has added the first fly to its endangered species list.

"Then there is the matter of the notorious tagger Chaka, who was arrested a few years ago for spraypainting his name on thousands of lampposts, road signs, underpasses, curbsides."

Nuke and Duke look sad. After Chaka, they said, "taggers began to value 'quantity over quality,' and the true visionaries of the medium were overshadowed," men such as Angst, Hex, Slick, Anger, Risky, Power, Skill, Toon, and Teck. But do not despair. "The ones that have heart," Duke told the class," will stick on the game."

The Grapevine

In her book *I Heard It Through the Grapevine: Rumor in African-American Culture* (University of California Press, 1993), Professor Patricia A. Turner of UC Davis explores the rumors common in all segments of the black community. These include the ideas that Kentucky and Church's Fried Chicken add sterilizing chemicals to their batter, that whites invented AIDS and crack for anti-black purposes, that menthol cigarettes are designed to give black men cancer, that Reebok gives its profits to the South African government, and that the white men murdered black boys in Atlanta to perform medical experiments on them.

Such rumors have been common ever since West Africans thought white slave owners were cannibals (like black slave owners). And the stories are useful, offering "the African-American community a way for coping with and responding to a hostile dominant culture. As rumors are named and shared, blacks have developed a powerful mechanism for absorbing and sometimes surmounting racial oppression."

Abolish IQ

The Fairfax, Virginia, school system used to require an IQ of 140 for admission to its gifted program. That is now to be changed, because while minorities (Asians, Latinos, and blacks) make up 30% of the population, they are only 11% of the gifted program, with most slots going to Asians. Now other talents may be substituted for IQ to bring about proportional representation. (*Washington Post*, 10/18, *Washington Times*, 12/2/93)

Where's the Flyswatter?

The federal government has added the first fly to its endangered species list: the Delhi sand fly of Southern California. "They talk about a fly becoming extinct, but so are jobs," May Frank Gonzales of Colton, where a hospital building project has been stopped by flyophilia. And people who harm or kill a fly may now be fined $200,000 and sentenced to a year in jail. (*Washington Times*, 10/12/93)

Get a Housekeeper

The American Catholic bishops—many of whom are living embodiments of their own advice—have urged American men to "move beyond gender stereotypes." Forget what Scripture and Tradition teach about family structure and governance—be "equal."

Archbishop James A. Hickey of Washington, D.C., whom no one would accuse of being a gender stereotype, called the 5,000 word document, "Follow the Way of Love," the "affection and support" that families "deserve." Among the recommendations: men should share their feelings (Archbishop, here's what I think of you); women should stop being afraid to show anger (what planet do you live on, Archbishop?); children should be brought into family decision making (kids,

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should we give this money to the Archbishop's 115th fund appeal, or spend it on toys?); and men should do the housework (does this mean you're firing your housekeepers?).

The bishops, who apparently took their previous foreign policy positions because of pro-Communism, now in "The Challenge to Peace" urge an end to "isolationism" and the adoption of a policy of global interventionism by the U.S. government, along with much more foreign aid. (*Washington Post*, 11/15/93)

P.C. and the Professor

Matin Yaqzan, a tenured mathmematics professor at the University of New Brunswick, has been suspended from his job and will probably be fired. "Free speech does not equal irresponsible speech," said the university's president, Robin Armstrong.

His crime? Yaqzan wrote a column for the university newspaper on date rape, which he said was different from stranger rape. Girls shouldn't be inviting boys to their rooms, he said. "If a promiscuous girl becomes a victim of an unwanted sexual experience, it would be more reasonable for her to demand some monetary compensation" than to "try to arouse the emotional response...that the word 'rape' evoked in yesteryear."

"A young girl and a young boy were chaperoned in the past for the obvious reason that a boy could not be expected to be a master of his sexual impulses.... The use of the veil among Muslim women was initiated for similar considerations," said Yaqzan, a Muslim, "it was not a plot to subjugate women."

When Canadian, British, and American journalists swarmed around his office, Yaqzan refused to talk, and then passed out a price list for interviews: $5,000 for the local media; $25,000 for national; and $100,000 for British and U.S. There were no takers, but much additional umbrage. (*Washington Post*, 12/1/93)

Speaking the Slanguage

Two teenagers are overheard: "This jam is thick. Plenty of mad honey dips, dope system." "We phat. But I gotta flex. I be maxin' at the crib." "I'm easin' here." It's the language of the hip-hop generation. If you're mystified, the *Washington Post* (10/14/93) has the translations. Here are some: *Chopped*: ugly. *Crib*: home. *Diesel*: good-looking male. *Dope*: good. *Duggy*: well dressed. *Flex*: leave. *Lampin'*: relaxing. *Grip*: money. *Honey dip*: good-looking female. *Hoopty*: car. *Jam*: party. *Joints*: sneakers. *Mackin'*: well dressed. *Mad*: good. *Phat*: good. *Shoot the gift*: talk. *Skeezer*: slut. *Skinz*: good-looking female. *System*: loud car stereo. *Thick*: good. *Think it ain't*: I agree with you. *To the curb*: dumped by your girlfriend.

You Don't Say

"WASP" is now forbidden at the *Los Angeles Times* ("may be pejorative"), notes Howard Kurtz in the *Washington Post* (11/29/93). So is "co-ed" ("considered derogatory to female college students") and "Dutch treat" ("an offensive reference to sharing expenses").

Also banned are "mailman", "mankind," and "man-made," for obvious reasons. So is "the New World" ("Beware of this usage when referring to the ancient continent of North America stumbled upon by Christopher Columbus. It ignores the 2,000 separate cultures that already existed in the continent").

Other forbidden words include: "babe," "Chinese fire drill," "crazy," "ghetto," "gypped," "handicapped," "Hispanic," "Indians," "inner city," "lame," "male nurse," "normal," "powwow," "queer," and "welsher."

Darn, Heck, Pooh-Pooh

Adam and Julianna Seligman are suing Northwest Airlines under the Americans With Disabilities Act for asking them not to take a flight because they were shouting obscenities.

The Seligmans, who claim to suffer from Tourette Syndrome, which they say makes them swear, want a big settlement, regardless of what other passengers may have wanted. Reported the *San Francisco Chronicle* (10/22/93): "'Tourette is like any other disease,' said Seligman as he peppered his sentence with four-letter expletives under his breath. 'Just because we say "Fuck you" doesn't mean we're throwing our rights out the door.'"

Casual AIDS

Paleo-libertarians have always opposed the forced integration of children with AIDS into schools. After all, blood is the major means of transmission, and schoolboys fight, bite, fall, and otherwise draw blood. Why

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should non-infected students and teachers be put at risk for P.C. purposes? Now scientists have reported, very reluctantly, several cases of children being infected by AIDS through such means. Is the Establishment worried about healthy children? Of course, not. It is concerned that "needless panic" may work non-p.c. results. (*New York Times*, 12/5/93)

Geronimo

"Do they show him hanging little girls on meat hooks?" asked the original screenwriter John Milius about the new movie, *Geronimo, an American Legend*. The answer is, of course, no. Geronimo is an Indian hero and victim of demonic frontier whites. Too bad, said Milius, "I like Geronimo as he was, a human predator."

The Apaches were invaders of Arizona themselves, but only the white man trespasses in the new movie. The Apaches are not seen as the atrocity-happy thieves they were, but as noble redmen. For example, Geronimo's last raid in 1885 is shown as forced upon him by a trigger-happy Army officer. In fact, it was caused by an Army ban on the Apache practice of cutting off the noses of disobedient wives.

After a lucrative career in Wild West shows, Geronimo died from pneumonia after falling off his horse in a drunken stupor and lying all night in a ditch. But none of this is shown in the movie either.

Final screenwriter Larry Gross explains that the audience doesn't want history, it wants entertainment. P.C. entertainment, of course. (*New York Times*, 12/5/93)

After a lucrative career in Wild West shows, Geronimo died after falling off his horse in a drunken stupor and lying all night in a ditch.

T-Shirt Prohibition

"Among the under-21 crowd, they were all the rage, literally," wrote reporter Evelyn Nieves (*New York Times*, 11/16/93). "Blaring slogans full of four-letter words and racial slurs in black letters about a foot long," the T-shirts sold in Newark, New Jersey, "were like boom boxes on full blast." So in October, the city council banned their sale to minors, and merchants had to give them "the plain-brown-wrapper treatment."

"Young men wearing shirts describing women as bitches and whores. Young women wearing shirts describing men as 'niggaz.' It was meant to hurt, and it did."

Mr. Wali Hakim, "a self-described motivational speaker," was now selling "black sweatshirts with the slogan, 'Born to Win,' boldly printed in white." "Unfortunately, the negative shirts sold faster than the positive ones." But the positive ones may help. "'Newark is a monkey-see, monkey-do place,' he said."

Black Conservatives

In a *Wall Street Journal* article (11/15/93), black conservative leader Robert Woodson quoted a survey to show that 33% of blacks think of themselves as conservatives. But David Bositis of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies in Washington, D.C., which did the survey, complained that Woodson thereby misled (*WSJ*, letter, 12/8/93). "Of the 33% of the black respondents who identified themselves as conservative, 79% favor affirmative action, 76% believe defense spending should be cut dramatically with the savings going to urban initiatives, 81% think too little money is spent on education, 83% favor Afrocentric education, 80% favor government initiatives helping young black males, two-thirds are Democrats, and 75% rate Jesse Jackson favorably. If this is Bob Woodson's profile of a black conservative, so be it, but he should make clear that black conservatism equates with government activism." ■

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